868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[428] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

867 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

868 While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
604 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

868 Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
● 721 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
604 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

* * *

/140 cont./

567 to accept the conditions proposed by the other, owing to its inability to defend itself. Furthermore, when the offender clan is very inferior to that of the offended person then claims are not even presented; the stronger group proceeds directly against the weaker and exterminates or enslaves its members.

The condition of conflict which we have described in the previous paragraphs is reached not only after homicide or after a delict involving bloodshed, but also for abduction of women, proven adultery, etc., when the indemnity claimed by the clan of the offended party has not been paid.

(For further information read the chapter on Law).

721 It is also very important to note that in La Guajira, wars are not intentionally made with the manifest aim of acquiring slaves by the defeat of another group; slavery in La Guajira, as we have stated, is a consequence of the violation of the code of social order and not an end in itself. It is, then, a social punishment, not a commercial or economic institution. So much is this so, that female slaves are sold at low prices and male slaves may even become an economic burden which the owner bears rather than giving them freedom.

Control and regulation. Slaves and their property are divided according to the social position of the participants of the victorious group in the following way: by the head, who is usually the maternal uncle of highest prestige in the small family group initially offended; or by the mother; or the eldest son appointed by the mother; or, finally, by the head who acted as leader of the punitive expedition. First, the part going to the injured family is handed over as payment for the offense. Of this sum the greater part is for the mother, then another share goes to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tios/, after this some part to the nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/, and, finally, a share to the brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ of the man directly offended. Of the remaining booty, the greatest and best part goes to the head of the expedition if he does not belong to the same small family as the injured man; the balance is then divided among

[44 cont.]
764 784 778 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

782 789 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

101 105 184 782 This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

411 668 921

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.

724 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
782 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
782 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
593 which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
278 none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
453 anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight